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THE CLAIMS OF THE CANDIDATES.

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CHARLES DICK, FRANK H. SIMONDS, EDWIN S. STUART,
JOHN R. COMMONS, THEODORE E. BURTON.

JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON.

“Energy in the Executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy.”—*The Federalist*, No. LXX.

THE Presidents who have been most conspicuous for executive energy are Jackson, Lincoln and Roosevelt. To President Roosevelt belong the credit and distinction of having pointed out the existence, under the administration of our dual system of laws, of a sort of No-man’s-land, where wrongdoers seek refuge behind the claim that State laws do not and Federal laws cannot apply; and of having made this land well-nigh uninhabitable. Under a broad construction of the Federal Constitution, he has urged the passage of National laws to meet conditions with which State authorities have failed to grapple. He has insisted that the arm of the law should be strong enough to protect in his innocence

the weakest citizen and long enough to reach the most powerful in his guilt. In this work he has had the zealous co-operation of Congress. President McKinley also had the hearty support of both Houses in carrying through the measures made necessary by the war with Spain. During the past ten years Congress has passed a body of laws involving a new interpretation of the powers of the Federal Government, laws of more far-reaching importance than any that have been considered since the Civil War period.

This augmentation of the powers of the Federal Government has been in response to public sentiment. President Roosevelt has met and conformed to the wishes of the people, and has shown that sort of "energy in the Executive" which is "essential to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice." This hasty analysis of the recent expansion of the activities of the Federal Government and of the attitude of the public mind towards this development is necessary to an intelligent understanding of the forces that will dominate the next Conventions of the two political parties.

The Republican National Convention that meets in Chicago next June will give to the policies of the Roosevelt Administration a unanimous and enthusiastic approval. In selecting its nominee it will consider four qualities in the candidates: character, ability, attitude towards the policies of the Administration and popularity. The nominee must be a man of approved integrity. He must have demonstrated his ability to perform the duties of the Presidential office and his possession of executive energy. He must be in sympathy with the present policies of the Government. And, lastly, he must be a man of national repute, well known and well liked by the people. The Republican party is fortunate in being able to make its choice from the large number of statesmen of eminent rank whose qualifications are now being considered by the public. They are all men of signal virtue, who have won the confidence and esteem of their fellow citizens. Any one of them would bring to the Presidency abilities of a high order. From among these the Convention will choose the man of the hour. Illinois will present to the Convention the name of Speaker Cannon as the man who best fills all the requirements of a successful Presidential candidate.

Let us first test his popularity—his capacity for being liked by all classes of people. It is the whole of a man's life that fixes his place in public esteem.

Joseph Gurney Cannon was born on May 8th, 1836, at New Garden, near Guilford, North Carolina. His father, Horace Franklin Cannon, was descended from Scotch-Irish ancestors who early settled in this country. His mother, who was a Hollingsworth, came of New England ancestry. Both parents were of Quaker lineage, and showed their devotion to the Church by naming their son after the most eminent Quaker of the day, Joseph John Gurney, the refined and scholarly English preacher. In 1837, when Mr. Gurney visited this country on a tour of the Quaker settlements, he stopped at New Garden, and Horace Franklin Cannon was assigned by the Church to be his guide in his travels through the Carolinas. He must have been pleased and surprised to find that his host had named his son after him the year before. In January, 1838, Mr. Gurney visited Washington, and Colonel Polk, as he calls him in his journal, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, having granted him permission to use the Hall, he preached there on a Sunday to an audience composed of President Van Buren, the Speaker, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and many other illustrious statesmen.

Horace Franklin Cannon was a physician, a man of force as well as piety, generous and public-spirited. He was one of the founders of Guilford College, a Quaker Seminary that has done educational work of a high order.

Before the Civil War, the Quakers all "bore testimony" against slavery, and many of them left their old homes in the Southern States to found new communities on free soil. Many families left North Carolina during the first half of the nineteenth century and settled in Ohio and States farther west. In 1840, Dr. Cannon with his wife, his son Joseph and another son, in the company of ten or twelve other families, moved from New Garden to Rockville in Parke County, Indiana, making the journey in canvas-covered wagons. Here Joseph spent his time till he was fourteen years old, attending school and learning the arts and crafts of the woods and fields, and acquiring those accomplishments of a country boy that are so pleasant in the retrospect. In 1850, Dr. Cannon lost his life while attempting to

cross a swollen stream to visit a patient. So, at fourteen, Joseph said good-by to school and boyhood at the same time, and started to work to support himself and help his mother and a younger brother and sister. He found employment in a country store at the neighboring village of Annapolis. Here he worked hard for six years, devoting all his leisure to reading with a view to becoming a lawyer.

By the time he was twenty, he had saved enough money to enable him to go to Terre Haute to read law. He studied in the office of Mr. Usher, who afterward became Secretary of the Interior under President Lincoln. Later, he went to the Cincinnati Law School, from which he graduated in 1858 and was admitted to the bar. The same year he went to Illinois. After spending six months in Shelbyville, he settled in Tuscola. Here he became a successful lawyer and formed the practice that he has always kept up of investing his savings in farm lands. In 1860, he cast his first Presidential vote for Abraham Lincoln. In 1861, he was elected State's Attorney and held the office till 1868. In 1872, he was elected to the Forty-third Congress. He has been re-elected to every subsequent Congress with the exception of the Fifty-second. In 1876, he moved to Danville, where he has since lived, and in the same year he gave up the active practice of his profession, so that he could devote himself entirely to his official duties. His investments have prospered and he now owns farms in Illinois, Indiana and Nebraska; and he is interested in many of the successful business enterprises of his own city. In 1862, Mr. Cannon married Miss Mary P. Reed, of Canfield, Ohio. In those days it was a rule among the Quakers that, when a man married a woman outside his own Church, he should openly and formally express his regret. As Miss Reed was a Methodist, Mr. Cannon was summoned to conform to the precepts of the Church. His loyalty and devotion to his wife made it impossible for him to comply, and so, as he quaintly puts it, he lost his mother Church to become the son-in-law of the Methodist Church.

His wife died many years ago and he has never remarried. He has two daughters. The younger is the wife of one of the leading business men of Danville. They have two daughters and these little grandchildren are the Speaker's pride and delight, and he is never so happy as when they are with him. Miss Helen Cannon, the Speaker's elder daughter, presides over his household

with a dignity and grace that charm all who enter their hospitable home.

What manner of man is he now, who crossed the mountains in a prairie schooner when he was four years old, endured the hardships of the frontier, began supporting himself at fourteen, and step by step has raised himself to affluence and to the second position in the Republic? What attributes make up his personality? The first thing that impresses the stranger who makes his acquaintance, and the thing that most amazes those who know him best, is his uniform buoyancy of spirits and gayety of temper. The tough, elastic constitution that he got from long lines of rugged ancestors he has preserved by his abstemious habits, his out-of-door life and cheerful disposition, that have frightened off old age. His step is now as springy and his blue eyes are as bright as they were when he walked into Shelbyville fifty years ago. When the Duke of Carlisle called to pay his respects to Justice Story, he found that eminent jurist, with red cheeks and disordered raiment, sliding down the banisters with his grandchildren. At a recent Christmas-eve party for children from fourteen to eighty, I saw the Speaker taking a vigorous part in all the sports, teaching a little lady of fourteen the five steps of the old-fashioned waltz, dancing the Virginia reel with all the embellishments of the minuet; and when at midnight the reel ended and all the others dropped panting into the nearest chairs, he came charging down the room in imitation of an Indian dance that he had seen in the far southwest. While ability to outdance at seventy-two a youth of fourteen is not essential in the President of the United States, any more than agility in sliding down banisters is a requisite in a Justice of the Supreme Court, it is true that the people do love a man of joyous temper who is fond of children and home and the sports of childhood.

Sincerity is one of Speaker Cannon's strongest traits. It has colored his whole life and affected all his career; for sincerity begets truth and simplicity of living. There is no cant or hypocrisy in his make-up. He never talks for effect, never poses, never plays to the galleries. He never flatters and never deceives. Riches and honors have not alienated him from his old friends. His manners are as plain, simple and unaffected now as they were when he was a country lawyer. But, when occasion requires it, he displays the same quiet dignity that characterized Lincoln.

In public life, courage and perseverance are his striking characteristics. He has fought his way to the top. All the world is interested in a fighter. If he fights fair, we admire him. If he comes to the front smiling after defeat, we love him. With McKinley and Reed, Mr. Cannon was a candidate for the Speakership in the Fifty-first Congress and was beaten. He was beaten again in the Fifty-sixth. But in him defeat developed no resentment nor bitterness. And at the age of sixty-eight he achieved the ambition of his life. No wonder that his friends call him "Uncle Joe."

During the next administration, Congress will be largely occupied in perfecting and adding to the body of remedial laws that has been placed on the statute-books during the last four years. It would be of the greatest possible help to the President during this period to have had experience in the House of Representatives. Speaker Cannon's service in the House, beginning in 1873, when Grant was President and Blaine Speaker, has brought him into contact for a generation with all branches of the Government and all the leading statesmen of the time. As Chairman for many years of the great Committee on Appropriations, he learned to their minutest details the revenues and expenditures of the Government. He knows, as no other man living knows, the Country, the Government and the People.

A strong supporter of another candidate said to me a few days ago: "Speaker Cannon is to-day the best-equipped man in the country for the Presidency, and if he were only ten years younger no other man would be mentioned in the Convention." Why should we in this country lose the services of the best years of our ablest men? Years bring experience, and experience wisdom. Palmerston, Gladstone, Thiers, Grèvy, von Moltke, did some of their best work for the State when over seventy-five. If Speaker Cannon should be elected President this year and should be re-elected in 1912, he would at the end of his second term still be four years younger than Gladstone was when he made his last speech in the House as Prime Minister. Let us too have our Grand Old Man!

And, finally, Speaker Cannon's zealous and efficient co-operation with the President in securing favorable consideration of the important measures which the President recommended to Congress, entitles him to the cordial support of all those who feel

that on "the steady administration of the laws" rest the security of property and the welfare of the people.

Speaker Cannon's high character, pre-eminent ability, attractive personality and sympathy with the President's policies, make him the logical, if not the inevitable, candidate of the Republican party to succeed President Roosevelt.

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

GEORGE BRUCE CORTELYOU.

THE Republican party has never been found lacking in available men, well known to the people of the country, who measured up fully to the requirements of the White House. As the time approaches when a standard-bearer is to be selected, it seems, however, as if by common consent a few were set apart by a process of elimination, and these were regarded as candidates for the honor—either through their own willingness to become such or through the efforts of those convinced of their availability. It is a tribute to the judgment and good sense of the American people that instances are rare where a man has been regarded seriously as a possible nominee for the Presidency, who did not measure up to a high standard of fitness. To place the name of George Bruce Cortelyou upon the list of avowed candidates for the Republican nomination for the Presidency this year would be an injustice to Mr. Cortelyou. To place him in high rank as conspicuously available for that honor would no more than do justice to his remarkable and uniformly successful career.

There are men whose lives seem a succession of coincidences of fitness and fortune, and Cortelyou is one of them. The present Secretary of the Treasury is eminently representative of the new type of politics in which he has won place. This is a business age, and the academic statesmanship of the early days of the Republic, the oratorical type of a succeeding generation, and the unscrupulous and wasteful "graft" of the years succeeding the Civil War, have given place to a political system as methodical, as systematic and as logical as the manner of conducting the best type of modern business organization. It is this talent for organization and system which is Cortelyou's peculiar strength. He has never been known to say much about general theories of government; he is not a speechmaker; he is abso-

lutely honest; his controlling idea seems to be that of grasping whatever problems may be at hand, in all their ramifications, details and sequences, and solving them with the least possible noise and friction. In any condition of society such a man is a power; at this time and under present conditions he becomes a very great power.

Mr. Cortelyou is forty-five years old. Born in New York, he comes of that good old mixture of Knickerbocker and Huguenot blood which makes for general ability, sagacity and steadfastness. It is an odd fact that Captain Jacques Cortelyou, the first of the name in America, made the first official map of the city of New York, in 1657, and may have been a friend and business associate of the first American Roosevelt, as both were prominent in the affairs of the little Dutch city on Manhattan Island. The estates of Jacques Cortelyou, however, were on Long Island, and a part of this ground is now occupied by the Cortelyou Club of Brooklyn. George Bruce Cortelyou began business life as a stenographer and teacher of stenography; for two or three years he was principal of a college preparatory school, and in 1889 became private secretary to the United States Post-office Inspector in charge at New York. Two years later he was secretary to the Surveyor of the Port of New York, and in 1893 he became secretary to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General in Washington. Here, again, is a factor in modern life which facilitated Mr. Cortelyou's rise—that multiplicity of interests which makes it necessary for the man of large affairs to delegate much of his power to his secretary. In Europe, an Under-Secretaryship is often a stepping-stone to larger power; in this country it has not been so until lately. The old type of business man and politician, who attended to all his important work himself, is becoming extinct. Hence now the able secretary is not likely to remain a secretary long.

When Cleveland entered the White House, and Maxwell, a Democrat, became Fourth Assistant in the Post-office Department, young Cortelyou fully expected to leave the service, and, in fact, Maxwell had already chosen a Democrat for his place, a personal friend. But there was a delay of two weeks before the new man could come to town, and during that time Cortelyou, who had arranged for an exit from the department to an important railroad position, had made himself so useful that he

could not be spared. This little circumstance aided Fate in making him a cabinet officer instead of perhaps a director of some railroad.

The story goes that Maxwell bragged so of his efficient private secretary that Postmaster-General Bissell, who had first vainly sought to secure this assistant for his own staff, recommended him as stenographer to President Cleveland and exulted over Maxwell's loss. Cortelyou took occasion to mention to the President at a suitable opportunity that he was a Republican, to which Cleveland characteristically replied that he didn't care a-jot—what his secretary thought about politics so long as the work was done. And that marks another subtle change then beginning in our national life,—the absence in partisan politics of the old vehement bitterness. It was the beginning of a change which has made it possible for President Roosevelt to appoint many Democrats to office, and for men whose fathers were Jackson Democrats to support the Roosevelt administration with enthusiasm.

In the next change of administration, J. Addison Porter became secretary to the President, and Mr. Cortelyou occupied the position of assistant secretary to the President. When Mr. Porter retired, Mr. Cortelyou took his place. The tragic event of McKinley's assassination threw upon Cortelyou the entire responsibility of directing the arrangements attending the illness, death and burial of the President. It is not generally known that in the poignant anxiety immediately following the assassination there was doubt in the minds of the surgeons as to whether an operation should be performed. Cortelyou was the only person with authority to say whether it should be done or not. From somewhere in the recesses of his memory he recalled a case similar to the President's in which such an operation saved the patient's life. He unhesitatingly took the responsibility of ordering the operation. Events proved that nothing could have saved the life then apparently in the balance, but Cortelyou took that responsibility as swiftly, as quietly, as he has taken many others, and the public never knew of it till long afterwards.

It had been President McKinley's wish to make Cortelyou a member of his cabinet, but death prevented the carrying out of this plan. When Theodore Roosevelt became President, Mr. Cortelyou continued as secretary to the President for a time,

but was soon made Secretary of the new Department of Commerce and Labor. This brought him first into the larger national view. He presented the peculiar spectacle of a man risen from a stenographer's desk to a cabinet position within ten years, without any electioneering or any political influence except manifest fitness for each succeeding place. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that Cortelyou ever pushed himself for any one of these promotions, but he was always available.

A friend of President Roosevelt happened to be calling at the White House when the President was much embarrassed by the efforts of political leaders to force upon him men he did not want for the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. At that time nobody supposed that the campaign of 1904 was going to be the avalanche of Roosevelt votes it proved to be. Roosevelt methods were still in a sense on trial, and it was obvious that any taint of crooked methods in the work of the committee would be most unfortunate not only for that particular candidacy, but for the new standards which were coming into view. The friend suggested to President Roosevelt that perhaps, in his hunt, he had overlooked the very man for the place—Cortelyou. Once more Cortelyou was the available man.

It was a most businesslike campaign. The spellbinders and schemers found themselves out on the doorstep. There were card catalogues, courteous sagacity and systematic methods throughout. Cortelyou organized and systematized a business which hitherto had seemed little susceptible of such methods. It is Cortelyou's habit of mind to consider every possible contingency and cover it months beforehand. He did this in the summer of 1904. There was very little whirlwind about the Roosevelt campaign of that year. It was not necessary to stir up excitement. The work was done on time.

When the new cabinet was formed Cortelyou was invited to become Postmaster-General, and when, on March 7th, 1906, he took the oath of office, he became the head of a department in which 1895 had seen him an obscure clerk.

The Post-office Department had been the pet preserve of the spoilsmen for generations. Three years ago, so loose was the management, some of the bureaus had almost set up in business for themselves. The new chief's policy was to bring all branches of the service into a closer interrelation, grouping re-

lated subjects into one bureau, abolishing division of authority, and making every man responsible directly to the man above him, so as to fix responsibility quickly in the case of good work or bad. Fourth-class postmasters were, he ordered, to retain their places during satisfactory service. This brief statement changed the status of sixty-thousand postmasters whose places had always been considered spoils of office, and it took the post-office further out of politics than it ever had been in its history.

President Roosevelt, thoroughly convinced of Cortelyou's usefulness as the man for an emergency, gave him the Treasury portfolio, and here an emergency did indeed arise, more spectacular and more far-reaching than any other in the career of the new head of the department. But unexpected as the financial stringency of 1907 was to the people, some danger was foreseen months beforehand by the administration. It was a foregone conclusion that the prosperity which was leading people of all classes to speculate rather wildly and live rather carelessly, and the inroads which the trust companies were making on the business of the national banks, would bring about some sort of crisis, due about the fall of 1907.

Cortelyou was ready for that emergency. Months before the run on the trust companies the Treasury Department had quietly deposited money in banks all over the country, so that whatever happened, there would be money with which to move the crops. Nearly thirty millions of dollars were thus distributed, and the result was that a panic, which might easily have spread from ocean to ocean, was checked at its inception.

At no time in the history of this recent disturbance in Wall Street was the Treasury Department out of touch with the situation. When Cortelyou appeared shoulder to shoulder with the great financiers of the country, giving out short, convincing statements of the situation to the waiting press, the spirit of confidence straightway rose. There was no quibbling; there was no uncertainty. The public knew what went on from day to day, the flashing bulletins gave the word almost from hour to hour. And before anxiety had had time to grow to terror, all was over.

The plan was simple. The banks of New York were allowed Government deposits on condition that they stood by those trust companies which could show a clean record. The trust companies were made responsible to a committee satisfactory to the

banks, and through this committee loans were made. It was all simple as A B C—after it was done.

This, perhaps, more than any other incident in his career, has given rise to the feeling that George Bruce Cortelyou is an available candidate for the Presidency. In the great emergencies which may confront the Republic in future years—emergencies due to the working of undercurrents and hidden causes rather than to any obvious national enemy—what is needed is a far-seeing man who will do the right thing at the right time, without noise, and without creating unnecessary antagonisms. Cortelyou's availability has carried him far; greater honors have already come to him than come to most men in public life. His progress has been in full view. He is still young, in the full vigor of mind and body, gaining daily in wisdom and experience, as all wise men do. What the immediate future may hold for him no man can say. He has full faith and trust in the American people, as they have in him, and with good reason.

JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY.

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS.

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS stepped suddenly into the nation's view when he came from his law practice in Indianapolis to the United States Senate, and then to the Chair as Vice-President. He had never before held public office, but he did not come without an enviable record, nor has he failed to strengthen it with every ensuing opportunity.

By a man's public acts the public must judge him, but they fail to afford a complete analysis of the man, especially when he is such a man as Vice-President Fairbanks—and it is the man behind the acts which makes them a criterion. The very qualities which rendered Mr. Fairbanks one of the most scrupulous and conscientious members of the Senate and which place him among the most loyal, indefatigable and successful of our illustrious line of Vice-Presidents, tend also to obscure rather than emphasize the man. When he left his law office, Mr. Fairbanks left his private practice, not partially, but wholly. He said: "While I hold a public office I shall devote to it every thought and energy and hour." No man ever gave this sentiment a broader or a more minute construction. Reinforced by

his physical endurance and mental capacity for work, his powers of concentration and abstraction render it easy for him to become so absorbed in public duties that private concerns are immaterial. The responsibilities incumbent upon him always command the best that is in him. He can no more devote half-hearted energy to a work he undertakes than he could perform it in a slipshod way. His desk in the Senate Chamber, where everything is always exactly in its proper place, ready to facilitate instant action the moment it is required, suggests the consistently methodical habits of the man and the secret of the invariably calm, deliberate, yet lightning-quick and correct conclusions at which he arrives in every emergency.

No man's career has ever better illustrated Mr. Cleveland's dictum that public office is a public trust. It is the whole-souled energy which Mr. Fairbanks devotes to every public responsibility devolving upon him, coupled with his broad, deep grasp of the great questions of the day, and his keen perception and unusual quality of practical common sense which renders him, like his warm friend President McKinley—whom he very much resembles in many ways—such an unerring public servant. But it is these very qualities which have made possible the impression, among those who do not know him beyond his public appearance, that Mr. Fairbanks is cold, unresponsive, unsympathetic, unapproachable.

To those who know him nothing is farther from the truth than this conception of him. To see him hurrying down the marble corridor, between the door of the Senate Chamber and the Vice-President's room, one would naturally think him more or less unapproachable. Yet, even there, a familiar face never caught his eye but his hand flew out for a quick, cordial grip, his face lighted in a thoroughly genial smile, his keen, clear gray eyes looked a greeting that was far from unsympathetic, and a few words, quickly spoken in his deep, strong voice, carried an assurance of cordiality which left the recipient better satisfied with life and sure that a big, human heart, almost abnormally sensitive and sympathetic, beat under the absorbed exterior.

At home, whether in his residence in Washington, or in Indianapolis, or out on his farm where he loves best to be, Mr. Fairbanks is ideally hospitable, responsive, sympathetic, democratic. His home life is and always has been the soul of his sphere. A

cleaner man in thought and life, a more wholesome and hearty advocate and example of public and private integrity, could not easily be found.

Scrupulous fidelity to duty has been the key-note of Mr. Fairbanks's public and private record since his boyhood on the pioneer farm in Union County, Ohio, where he was born in a log house in 1852. His mother still resides with him in Washington, though she remembers the day when she crossed the mountains and struck the trail in a pioneer cart with her husband. To see her strong, earnest, intellectual face, to feel her firm, cordial hand-clasp, to hear her voice, is another assurance of the qualities she imparted to her son. Among other things she planted the strong religious instincts which pervade his life. It is not the intense sectarianism which is sometimes erroneously imputed to Mr. Fairbanks; but a religious sense, deeper and broader than any specific creed, which permeates the fundamental convictions of his life and accounts for his theories of the sacredness of fiduciary obligations, whether in business or politics.

Illustrating this, I recall an earnest conversation, at a time when action was imperative in an important crisis. A proposition was advanced carrying logical certainty of victory, but including indorsement of a policy the correctness of which Mr. Fairbanks doubted. Instantly he shook his head and in his invariably gentle, but firm, decisive voice replied: "It is better to remain out of power than to win favor upon a false principle."

I believe that sentiment has been his gauge of action throughout his life. After graduating from college he was representative of the Associated Press at Pittsburg for a year, then at Cleveland. Meanwhile, he studied law and was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Ohio. In 1874 he settled in Indianapolis and practised law uninterruptedly for twenty - three years.

The Hoosier State was a stimulating field for a young man with a Buckeye's instinct for law and politics. It was a battle-ground of great lawyers and political leaders. For nearly a third of a century after the Civil War Indiana was a pivotal State. And Morton, Hendricks, Colfax, Voorhees, McDonald, Harrison and others of hardly less ability were adversaries at the bar and on the hustings. Law and politics went hand in hand. Mr. Fairbanks met them in the open, at the bar and on

the stump; not as a candidate, but only as an earnest advocate of the Republican party. A busy and successful lawyer often prefers his profession to politics. So it was with Mr. Fairbanks. And yet he did a good man's part for good government. In his wide practice, sometimes corporations were his clients; sometimes he was opposed to corporations.

His first prominence in Indiana politics was won in fighting a gerrymander enacted by a Legislature more greedy of power than scrupulous of methods to achieve it. In 1888, at thirty-six, he was a manager of Walter Q. Gresham's campaign for the Presidency. But Harrison was the nominee, and on his invitation Mr. Fairbanks held a leading part in that campaign, and came to be held as a probable Senator when the Republicans might have the power of electing a Senator.

By the year 1896 he had been awarded a position of real leadership in Indiana. His fibre was tested when the free-silver mania seemed for the time to master the State. To a suggestion that a declaration for the gold standard in the State platform might mean the loss of the State and his own defeat for the Senate he said: "It would be better to go down in defeat for such a cause than to win victory at the price of repudiation." His counsel prevailed and the ringing note for sound money turned Indiana and helped to turn the tide elsewhere, culminating in the gold plank in the St. Louis platform.

Mr. Fairbanks was a strong advocate of William McKinley. Between the two men there had long existed a warm personal friendship. Mr. Fairbanks entered the Senate the day President McKinley was inaugurated, and the close, intimate, personal sympathy continued to the end. Senator Fairbanks was recognized among the most zealous and influential champions of the administration—supporting the Dingley tariff, the strengthening of the gold standard, the immigration acts against Chinese coolie labor, the maintenance of the American standard of wages and living. Senator Fairbanks stood by President McKinley in every possible effort to avert the war with Spain, though public opinion was inflamed against every advocate of the administration course. But when it became evident that no honorable peaceful solution was possible, he spoke in the Senate in favor of the declaration of war. He was a member of the United States and British Joint High Commission and chairman of the American Com-

missioners. He was re-elected to the Senate without a dissenting vote in his party.

Since becoming a national figure, Mr. Fairbanks has been in constant demand as a public speaker, giving to the administration of President Roosevelt the same loyal and effective support he accorded to that of his predecessor. He introduced the amendment providing for the issue of Government bonds under which the Panama Canal work is now being prosecuted. He has always been an earnest advocate of comprehensive plans for internal improvement, especially looking to the improvement of navigable waterways as a means of solving the national problem of transportation, and the irrigation of arid lands.

In the Chicago Convention of 1904 attention was called by the leaders of the party to the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks as Vice-President, as a marked return to the old traditions, when possible succession to the Presidency was kept clearly in mind; and during the campaign which followed he traversed twenty-five thousand miles, addressing large audiences in hundreds of cities and towns, attracting wide attention by his vitality and versatility, and leaving everywhere a lasting impression of his pleasing, cordial and unaffected personality.

Friends of Mr. Fairbanks frequently refer to him as of "the McKinley stamp," cool-headed but warm-hearted, discreet but courageous, conservative but progressive, cautious but patriotic, holding above all other considerations the welfare of his country. That he would make a popular candidate who would be equal to every responsibility, and a safe and patriotic President, no one can doubt who has a real knowledge of the man. His opportunities for public service have come to him unsought, and to each he has given his best without fear or favor. That he has the courage of his convictions no one who knows him doubts; and the foundation of his convictions is: "It is better to remain out of power than to win favor upon a false principle."

His service in the Senate and as Vice-President and his wide acquaintance throughout the country make him familiar with public questions and with the public need. If elected, he will enter the Executive office fully equipped for its duties. He possesses the requisite ability, the knowledge of the men of the nation and the poise of character and temperament to make a President of the McKinley type. There is every assurance that

he would organize an administration able and honest which would conduct the affairs of the Government in a businesslike manner. He would recognize fully the rights of the several States and of the National Government within their respective and appropriate jurisdictions, believing that such recognition is necessary for the preservation of our political institutions as they were ordained by the fathers.

He would regard the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the Government as being, each, supreme within its appropriate sphere, all of them co-ordinating to a common end.

His service in the Senate will enable him to maintain those relations with the Congress which are so essential to good administration.

He stands for the protective policy because it builds up American industry, gives opportunity and wages to American workmen and offers employment to American capital in fuller measure than any other policy. He does not hold that schedules are sacred, but he has always maintained that they should be changed wherever there is a sound economic reason therefor; when more good than harm can be accomplished thereby.

His election would mean the maintenance of a sound monetary system, so far as Executive authority is required.

There would be no reactionary step with regard to those policies of McKinley and Roosevelt which have commanded the public confidence and the support of the best thought of the Republican party. Those policies with regard to the control of combinations of capital would be intelligently, fearlessly and with certainty carried out by the new administration. He has always stood for the best thought of the Republican party.

He believes in international arbitration, and that the most important work to be accomplished in the international field is the establishment of some method of adjusting honorably questions arising between nations and without a resort to war.

He would maintain a foreign policy, dignified, just and firm. There would be no fear that collision with other Powers would unnecessarily be provoked. There would be proper respect for the rights of others and equal insistence upon a proper respect for our own.

He belongs to no faction. He is upon good terms with all members of the party everywhere. ADDISON C. HARRIS.

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER.

No American statesman of to-day is more generally known than Senator Joseph Benson Foraker. At the same time, there is perhaps no figure filling so large a place in the public mind at present who is so much misunderstood. That is the penalty paid by a man who has been so absorbed in his professional and public duties that he has had little time or opportunity to make the acquaintance of the people at short range, or to correct misrepresentations concerning himself. Very warm-hearted and very approachable, coveting human friendships as among the best gifts that life furnishes, his absorption in the more serious duties of life has made it impossible for him to cultivate to the extent he has desired the acquaintanceship of the masses, as well as the comradeship of congenial spirits. To live in the realm of the intellectual implies a certain aloofness from the world in general, and Senator Foraker's life has been an intensely intellectual one. The same holds true, however, in the material walks of life. If a man is absorbed in business and accumulates such a colossal fortune that the public mind appropriates him as the subject-matter of common every-day discussion, he must take the public into his confidence sufficiently to make known what manner of man he really is, or the public will take extreme liberties with his personality.

Senator Foraker's fame has not been appreciably augmented because his name is now considered in connection with the Presidency. Such association has not added specially to the common stock of information about him. He was just as well known before his name was mentioned in this connection. Did not Senator Foraker hail from the State of Ohio, the State of William McKinley, who came later into public recognition yet was preferred before him, he would doubtless have been effectively urged for the Presidency long before now. As long ago as 1888, when he was a conspicuous figure in the National Convention at Chicago, he had many ardent admirers who felt certain he was the logical man of the hour. As for himself, he was loyal to Sherman then, as he was to McKinley in 1896 and 1900, and to Roosevelt in 1904. He asked nothing for himself, but threw the whole force of his great influence and commanding personality into the conflict in behalf of his choice.

He has had many followers,—loyal, ardent and enthusiastic, and he has always been able to awaken the widest enthusiasm among his adherents. He has not, however, so many intimates as some men in public life, partly because he has always been very domestic in his tastes and has been blessed with a surpassingly attractive home circle, but mainly because he has not needed intimates to help fashion his ideas and to assist in formulating his opinions as to public policies. In the first place, he has always been a staunch Republican, loyal to the principles of his party as laid down in its National platforms. To other issues as they arose he has applied a mind highly trained, an industry tireless in seeking the facts, a rare judicial acumen in weighing the evidence, and logic of the highest order in stating his conclusions. To these admirable qualities he joins the higher and rarer virtues of being absolutely honest with himself and a political independence which compels him to be honest and sincere with the public. His courage in the forum and before the public in general is not a whit less than it was in his boyhood days on the field of battle. The legislative contests he has waged have been conflicts in which principle and devotion to duty and the right as he saw it were his guiding star. He may at times be mistaken, but no one can doubt his sincerity. He would rather be right than be President, and he will never crook his knee to the public that thrift may follow fawning. He never yielded his individuality and convictions for fear or favor. In a recent address in Ohio he said: "I have never understood that any one was to decide for me how to vote. If I am not to have that right, then you take all the honor away from the office, and so far as I am concerned you can take the office with it." To one of his strongest political supporters who was urging a certain course and reminded him that, quite possibly, the Presidency was at stake, he replied: "I would not forfeit my self-respect in order to be President." Incidentally, he kept to his original course.

If political elimination should be the reward of his independent stand on any public issue, he would accept his martyrdom as philosophically as ever did any victim of persecution, and find regret only in the fact that he had but one life to give for a cause. He cannot be deterred from supporting any cause he deems right, simply because it may be unpopular. His course

on the railroad-rate bill was an illustration. To paraphrase a well-known expression, it was magnificent, but not politics. He realized he was taking his political life in his hands when he decided on that course, but that made no difference. He believed he was right, and he was fearless in the fight he made.

Massachusetts returned Senator Hoar to Congress, although he severely castigated the Republican policy of expansion, and was the idol of the anti-imperialists. Maine did the same thing for Senator Hale, though he was equally at variance with our Philippine policy. Both men have rendered distinguished service in the Senate. Both were recognized as patriots of the highest type, in whom the whole country took a just pride, and the honor they reflected on their respective States was too great to permit any disagreement of opinion to put an end to their public careers. Both were re-elected to the Senate without opposition. Foraker is to-day his party's ablest debater on the floor of the Senate, with few equals and no superiors in public discussion, and is always an antagonist justly to be feared. He never talks for the sake of talking, nor to hear the sound of his own voice, but from firm conviction that duty calls. He never talks lightly or without sufficient information, as many an antagonist has ruefully realized on attempting to cross swords with him. In debate, sledge-hammer blow and rapier thrust are alike at his command. He marshals all the forces of oratory, but relies most on crushing blows delivered at his adversary's weakest point.

There is a vein of chivalry in his nature which leads him to champion the cause of the afflicted, the oppressed and the down-trodden. No cause is too humble to enlist the tireless support of his whole being. He espoused the cause of the black battalion discharged at Brownsville as zealously and fervently as he defended the railroads against the attacks of an almost unanimous public sentiment. He has not yet been convinced, and those who agree with him see no reason why he should as yet be convinced that he was wrong in either case. He made a successful fight against the forced union in Statehood of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

He is ambitious. What man with good red blood is not. His ambition has been to serve his country well and faithfully. When public duties have not prevented, he has practised his profession

and served his clients with the same ability and fidelity. He has never, however, commingled the two occupations, and he has never been charged justly with betraying either a private or a public trust. Senator Foraker has never corrupted legislation, has never corruptly influenced legislation, and has never taken a part in making legislation in which he had a personal interest. He does not own railroad stocks or bonds, and as far as he is individually concerned it matters not a particle what railroad legislation has been, or may be, enacted.

He has the advantage of a college training after his service in the army, and at an age when he could derive the greatest benefit from it. He has always been a student and a reader, fond of his books, but too busy to enjoy them always as he desired. He has never been a follower, but always a leader. Whether his following was great or small, it was loyally devoted to him, and no one has ever thought of him as enlisted under the banner of any one else. Like a baron of the feudal ages, he has always fought under his own banner and carried it into the thickest of the conflict.

Senator Foraker's career since he came to the United States Senate has confounded his enemies and justified the highest expectations of his friends. Styled a conservative now, he was once called a radical. He was so considered because he was an extreme partisan, standing firmly for all the policies of the Republican party. He was the idol of his party, and the only man in Ohio nominated consecutively four times for the office of Governor. In those days he was fiery, dashing, impetuous, a very whirlwind in debate and on the stump. This accounts for his firm hold on the affections of the Republican voters of Ohio. The Republican party in that State has, except for the past few years, been compelled to fight hard for its victories and it has never given or taken quarter. For the past quarter of a century, in all of the great contests in Ohio that have attracted the attention of the whole country, Senator Foraker has been conspicuous as a leader and a staunch defender of Republican principles.

He has never succeeded through organization, has never mastered nor seemed to care for the details of organization. Those who refer to him as a machine politician do not know whereof they speak. He is not a candidate to be put in harness and led or driven by the word of a campaign manager. In the years during

which he has been a prominent figure in Ohio politics he has never had a "machine," in the sense in which that word is used to describe a political organization carried down to the smaller political subdivisions. His trust has always been in the people, and more than one indifferent or unfriendly political gathering has been won to his side by his oratory. His addresses are as clean-cut and incisive at sixty as ever. His personality makes him a conspicuous figure in any assembly. He is one of the most entertaining of public speakers, and is acknowledged by his antagonists in the Capitol as one of the fairest, squarest fighters in the Senate. Speaker Cannon once said of him: "Of all the brilliant statesmen in our American political history there is no abler man or squarer man, no better or fairer fighter, no man who honors the State and Nation more or renders them better service, than Senator Foraker of Ohio."

He has rendered most valuable services to his party and to his country. He has been a stalwart of the stalwarts in advocating those policies which appeal to patriotism. He is clean, forceful, courageous, a man who will not hesitate to stand by his convictions whether such a course may be popular or not. He has suffered much because he has been misrepresented and misunderstood, being too busy doing the work which lay before him, and following the paths where he believed duty led him, to take the time and make the effort necessary to promptly correct wrong impressions gained by some as to his motives. Whether or not he is elected to the highest office in its gift, the country can ill afford to lose him from the councils of state, and no one who knows the man well doubts that he would fill with honor and surpassing distinction the great office of President.

CHARLES DICK.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

To set forth with brevity and some degree of precision the claims for presidential honors of a man who advances no such claims, who permits no friend to speak with authority on this subject, who persistently avoids obvious opportunity to emphasize this aspect of his public life, is a problem not without serious difficulty. It is the problem, moreover, which must inevitably confront any one who seeks to analyze the practical side of the

claims of Governor Hughes upon the Republican presidential nomination.

This attitude of Governor Hughes, which has seemed novel enough to divert public attention from the more important aspects of his candidacy, may be briefly summarized. It amounts to a frank willingness to accept a nomination, an honest recognition of the honor contained even in the mere mention of his name in this connection and a vigorous and unswerving determination to do nothing as Governor which can be interpreted as a bid for public favor or an effort to compel political support from subordinates or interested politicians. This attitude has been variously characterized as correct and as Quixotic, but, at the least, it has been consistent.

The subject of Governor Hughes's personal view of his claims to presidential honors, however, can hardly be of primary importance, nor is it likely to long concern the leaders and the delegates of a dominant, national party. There are, however, two questions of real and substantial importance, which go to the very root of his candidacy, as of that of the candidacy of any man for a presidential nomination, and upon the answer to these must depend the question as to whether the Governor's claims are deserving of consideration. One concerns the ability of Governor Hughes, if nominated, to bring to the Republican ticket electoral votes not otherwise available; the other relates to the record he has made upon the issues of greater national significance, about which the next campaign and the next administration must be centred.

It is the claim of the friends of the candidacy of Governor Hughes that his nomination would bring inside the Republican column the electoral votes of New York, which must otherwise be reckoned as doubtful. Nor does this claim seem exaggerated to a majority of the practical politicians of this State. It is not merely that in an "off year" Governor Hughes carried the State by a majority unprecedented for such a time. It is not merely that this victory was in a sense a personal triumph, since the balance of the Republican ticket was lost. But there is even more recent testimony on this score. During the sixteen months in which he has been Governor, Mr. Hughes has had frequent occasion to appeal to the people directly upon matters in which his personal stand was the issue at stake. Invariably, there has

come back the unmistakable verdict of popular approval, in effect, an emphatic vote of confidence from the people of the State.

These evidences of the personal hold of Governor Hughes upon the confidence of the people of New York have a deep significance in view of the present posture of the Republican party in this State. It is not to be disguised by the most sanguine that the present situation is serious in the extreme. The party itself has recently been torn by a factional fight and the contending elements remain widely separated. In the conflict, moreover, the old and efficient party machinery has been destroyed, as the last State election disclosed. Even the old source of power, patronage, is sapped, for most of the State offices are in the hands of the Democrats. Nor can one fail to note that the effect of "hard times" and the recent panic seems likely to persist until election and the responsibility therefor to be laid to the door of the dominant party.

Therefore, in view of the foregoing facts, there is no mistaking the settled conviction that the Republican outlook in New York this fall is dark in the extreme. Yet concomitant with this view of Republican prospects is to be found the wide-spread belief that Governor Hughes, if named for the Presidency, could carry the State, that if he were named at Chicago the State would no longer be doubtful. This belief is founded upon the conviction that the Governor by his whole public service has won the loyal, if not the enthusiastic, support of that numerous element in the voting community which wears its party shackles lightly and has frequently been a deciding factor in close elections. It has been the support of this element which has contributed to all the earlier triumphs of the Governor; it is, unquestionably, one of his chief political assets.

Elected by a union of the Republican and Independent voters, sustained during his administration by the independent and even the partisan press of opposing faith, Governor Hughes has given frequent proof of this personal strength with the voters, which alone, in the minds of many trained observers, can serve to stem the trend toward Democratic victory in New York. Nor is there any evidence yet adduced which indicates a similar strength for any other Republican whose name has been suggested for the Republican nomination. In the eyes of the wisest politicians, Governor Hughes is the only candidate with whom New York

may be recognized as safely Republican, and this must serve to answer the first question proposed as to his presidential claims.

The question of the vote-getting power of a candidate, however important to the practical politician, must nevertheless be a matter of secondary interest to the voters themselves. To them the record and the stand of a prospective presidential candidate upon the national problems is vastly more important. Nor is it necessary to undertake any catalogue of these national issues in this place. In sum, they concern certain acute phases of the economic development of the Nation. Railroad rates, the trusts, the interminable investigations which succeed each other with such regularity, are all manifestations of the single great problem, which concerns the relation of the corporation alike to the individual and to the State.

Upon this fundamental problem of contemporary public and political life, moreover, Governor Hughes has made a record to which his friends point as the basis for his presidential claim. Governor Hughes, who before he took public office achieved the marvellous revelations of the Armstrong Insurance Investigation, who, to an audience which daily expanded until it included the whole Nation, set forth the evils of the world of finance, society and politics, seems to these friends to have deserved consideration by this very thing alone.

With even more earnestness, moreover, the friends of the Governor point to the Public Service Commission Law of this State as an evidence of the Governor's power to grasp and deal in a broad manner with a vital question. In this law there is embodied the Governor's own view upon the regulation of corporations. Here is provided a simple and efficacious machinery by which the producer, the commuter, the gas consumer can secure proper service, reasonable rates and protection from other abuses, which in past days have been intolerable in New York State.

Yet, in emphasizing the advantages the Governor's investigations and legislation have brought to the individual, it is possible to so far exaggerate as to miss the salient point. Almost the same day that he signed the Public Service Commission Law, Governor Hughes vetoed the Two-Cent Fare Bill. While Hughes the investigator was commanding the attention of the Nation, the counsel to the Armstrong Insurance Investigating Committee was patiently and tirelessly laboring to frame legislation that

should make the insurance business, so far as it was legitimate, profitable and possible.

It is because of the even balance between contending elements which has marked Governor Hughes's record upon the great economic questions of the day that he has been pronounced a radical by the reactionaries, a reactionary by the radicals. The man who declared for imprisonment, not fine, as the punishment for offending corporation officials, and, in the same temper, vetoed the Two-Cent Fare Bill, who equally declined the opportunity to achieve a reputation as a destroyer at the cost of legitimate business which within restricted lines was proper and necessary to the community, and quite as frankly declined the obvious political opportunities of qualifying as a reactionary leader, has written very clearly his record upon the pending question.

In sum, then, Governor Hughes has quietly and deliberately made his record upon an insistence upon the law, upon the calm and deliberate method of action. At all times and under great temptation and stress he has declined to appeal to public passion or popular clamor, which sought to destroy madly and punish blindly, rather than to repair patiently and reform wisely. In a time, moreover, when the temptation of the strong Executive to dominate the recalcitrant Legislature has been marked, when, moreover, a word, or a suggestion based upon patronage would have sufficed to accomplish a personal triumph, the Governor has firmly refused the opportunity, insisting that the permanent evils flowing from such Executive interference would far exceed any temporary advantage. Even when his Public Service Corporations Law was at stake, he resorted to no denunciation of individual or collective corporate malefactors; his appeal to the people of the State for support was without denunciation, was, as he phrased it, the argument of the "attorney for the people of the State."

In a more extended statement of Governor Hughes's public record there are further claims that might be pressed on his behalf. As the Chief Executive of a great State, he has made a record of more than passing significance, in other fields besides his insurance legislation he has shown a broad grasp of large questions. In banking laws, ballot laws and labor laws he has shown himself in touch with the great movement which is manifesting itself simultaneously all over the Nation. While in his

reorganization of departments and in his public appointments he has displayed unusual ability as an administrator.

Nor has the Governor shrunk from a fair and complete enunciation of his stand upon the essential doctrines of his party, which must be accepted by its candidate. In New York, Chicago and Boston, he has set forth his views upon the tariff, the Philippines, the questions of the relations of the National Government to corporations and corporate offenders, which have provoked no charge of party heresy. His reception in Chicago and Boston, moreover, and the interest in his administration and his candidacy have shown that his record and his achievements have passed the limits of his own State and fairly entitled him to consideration as a national figure.

All these matters indicated above, however, belong to a broader discussion of the presidential claims of Governor Hughes than can be now undertaken. Here his claims must be confined to two questions that have been outlined: to that of his ability to carry a State which must be regarded as doubtful in the event of the nomination of any other Republican; and to his record on the economic questions which are now occupying the attention of the Nation as a whole. This record discloses Governor Hughes as committed to the rational regulation of corporations and the drastic punishment of real offenders against the law, but as deaf to any agitation which has its sole justification in popular clamor.

The record of Governor Hughes, moreover, is written in existing and working laws, not in interviews nor in fruitless agitation. And on this record his final claim to the Republican presidential nomination must rest. It is the record of a man who has proven his devotion to certain principles rather than to the exaltation of any person, including himself. FRANK H. SIMONDS.

PHILANDER CHASE KNOX.

IF, in the last analysis of the present year's political activities, Philander Chase Knox should become President of the United States the country will secure one of the clearest intellects and one of the most courageous characters ever called to preside over its destinies.

Regardless of the political affiliations of individuals, this seems to be the view of all those who know the man, who understand his motives and are familiar with the multitude of obstacles he

has surmounted and the splendid success he has achieved in inaugurating and conducting a crusade fraught with more far-reaching and beneficial consequences to the American people than has ever been undertaken since the war.

Not since the election of a Republican candidate in 1860 has the duty of an incoming President of the United States been so clear as it is to-day. As a lifelong Republican, I have no doubt of the success of the party's standard-bearer. He will be the heir to the policies of President Roosevelt. Upon him will devolve for four years to come the execution of those measures in administration and their expression in legislation. The American people, as a whole, support the general policy of President Roosevelt on the important questions that now confront them. The work of making that policy effective in practical results and embodying it in permanent law, through judicial process and in a conservative manner, is yet to be consummated upon the recommendation of the next President.

A broad period of legislation is now in prospect. Reconstruction is before us on the line of the Roosevelt policies. The candidate of the Republican party ought to be in his record, his character, his ability, his experience and his share in the achievements of the past the visible proof to the American people that, as Chief Executive, he will be equal to the duty of executing the law efficiently and of recommending to Congress comprehensive legislation which will give settled conditions to all the vast and varied business interests of the country. Senator Knox has special qualifications for this task. It was he who won for the Roosevelt policies their first great judicial triumph. He has framed the legislation upon them in Congress. In Pennsylvania, we who know the Senator believe that his nomination and election are demanded by and would promote the best interests of the American people.

Mr. Knox has been misrepresented, of course. Leading in and directing important battles for the administration, throughout the past eight years of phenomenal Governmental progress,—these more clearly outlining his brilliant services and sturdy devotion to the country's interests as Attorney-General under two Presidents and one of the boldest champions of the people in the United States Senate,—one could not stand, as he did, squarely in the front without drawing upon himself the hos-

tility and misrepresentations of his discomfited opponents. But he was fortunate in the fact that his record was so open, his position so skilfully maintained, his motives so clearly defined, and his convictions so consistent with prudence, common sense and patriotism that but little ground was left for insinuations or imputations of selfishness, insincerity or disloyalty. The Senator's record so conclusively demonstrated his real character and the purity of his motives that, in spite of the characteristic modesty with which he declined to notice or refute aspersions, he gained rather than lost by adverse criticism. If vindication were necessary, one need but turn to the career of Mr. Knox as Attorney-General, when he was conspicuous, as he is to-day, in opposing the aggressions and encroachments of corporations upon the rights of the individual and in demanding that corporate business be wisely regulated in the interest of the public. It was his consistent and brilliant record which inspired the tribute paid him by President Roosevelt, who, in a public speech, made this declaration:

“During the last few years the National Government has taken very long strides in the direction of exercising and securing adequate control over the great corporations; and it was under the leadership of one of the most honored public men in our country, one of Pennsylvania's most eminent sons, the present Senator and then Attorney-General Knox, that this new departure was begun.”

When the subject of this sketch was asked once if he objected to being classed as a corporation lawyer he replied, “No one who knew anything about me or my law practice has ever yet so classified me; but, in the abstract, my idea would be that a corporation lawyer was one who gave his whole time to the service of a corporation, and not one who had corporations among his clients, for the latter includes every lawyer of any ability to-day. It is not who a lawyer's clients are, but the nature of the services he renders them that determines the lawyer's character.”

Let us glance for a moment at the career of the man whose force of character and brilliant intellect infused new life and vigor into the many responsible offices which he filled, with such signal efficiency and practical benefit to the country as to place him among the few American statesmen to whom the nation looks to-day for guidance and protection. Senator Knox was born fifty-four years ago in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, within sight

of the birthplace of James G. Blaine. His father, a man noted for sterling integrity, moral courage and strong common sense, was cashier of an important bank in the great farming and coal-producing section and one of the leading business men of the community. From his mother, a woman of singularly beautiful character, the Senator inherits the composure and calm demeanor so characteristic of him. At nineteen he graduated from college, where he had first met the future President, William McKinley, between whom and himself a strong and intimate friendship arose, which continued until the lamented President's death. In 1875 Knox was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County and was at once appointed Assistant United States Attorney. After a service of a year he resigned the position and formed the partnership of Knox and Reed, which lasted for a quarter of a century. It soon became and remained the most prominent and successful firm practising law in the courts of Allegheny County. In 1896 Mr. Knox was made President of the Pennsylvania State Bar Association. His address, upon retiring from that position, was prophetic in its forecast of the operations of the law in relation to labor and capital. It was perhaps the first enunciation of the doctrine that, under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, there rested with the general Government the right and power to control great combinations of capital; that corporations engaged in unreasonable business operations, affecting the public welfare or in restraint of trade, were violating the law and could be dealt with by the courts. He was thus the pioneer of the cause of the people in 1897; he was the guide and champion of the new idea in 1903; and he was the victorious General when the Supreme Court of the United States decided in favor of his contention in 1904.

In public and private, Senator Knox's striking qualities are simplicity, directness and lucidity. A naturally keen perception and a remarkable power of analysis have been cultivated throughout a life of industry and indomitable energy, until to-day Senator Knox displays the capacity of a master mind in making plain and expounding any subject he touches. A gentleman, enjoying perfect health, in the prime of life, instinctively just to all men, educated and trained by close application to books and wide experience in the practical affairs of life, a lover of nature, straightforward, cordial, sympathetic, he has a most lovable dis-

position and a lively sense of humor. He is especially fond of outdoor sports, and is never better satisfied than when mounted on a good horse and riding over the hills at Valley Forge. Few men burdened as he has been with national responsibilities could be so easily accessible, so cordially democratic and yet so attractive through all the best qualities of a man. No one can wonder at the prompt and cordial endorsement which his candidacy has received from all who know him.

Aside from those personal qualities which are best appreciated by his personal friends, Knox is favored by the fact that the logic of succession obviously depends upon the logic of purpose, upon the object to be subserved in the choice of the next President. Manifestly, it is to carry on the great regenerative work which Knox inaugurated and to continue the special policies with which he has been closely identified. This work is the protection of the people against the unrestrained abuses of selfish corporate interests. More intimately than any other living man, Philander C. Knox is associated with the origin, the evolution, the execution and the success of the Roosevelt policies. What has already been accomplished could not have been achieved without the legal acumen and the masterful generalship of a Knox.

Upon assuming the direction of the Department of Justice, Mr. Knox became at once the exponent and executive of the President's policies. He struck out new paths of interpretation and triumphantly carried his cause to the Supreme Court of the United States, with the result that there was a new and enlarged chart of governmental powers. The exposition contained in his great speech in Pittsburg, in 1902, was the beacon light which illuminated this new course.

With the courage of his convictions, he entered the field in behalf of national control and regulation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and his labors were speedily crowned by the notable victories which changed the whole face of the situation in the relation of the Government to the great agencies of trade. The injunction on railroads against rebates, the overthrow of railroad traffic pooling, the indictment and defeat of the Beef Trust, and the dissolution of the Northern Securities merger followed within a few months. Then the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House asked him to point the way to legislation required, and his response became the basis of the

present Federal law against rebates. Senator Dolliver, who was most active in connection with the railroad-rate bill, said: "In drafting this bill the framers of it were guided very largely by the speech delivered in Pittsburg by the Honorable Senator from Pennsylvania—a speech which reads almost like a judgment from the Supreme Bench."

The principles of the Roosevelt policies are the principles of Senator Knox, for upon him as Attorney-General President Roosevelt depended to give these policies the indestructible form of law and finally to secure for them the approval of the Supreme Court of the United States. He thoroughly believed in their fundamental object in aiding public justice and corporate regulation.

Senator Knox is also distinguished for poise, careful reflection and sound judgment. He has judicial temperament and balance. Twice he has been offered a seat on the Supreme Bench. When asked why he declined it he replied, "I would rather make history than write it"; and that, in one sentence, gives an index to the temper of the man. A man of brilliant mind, of broad views, of strong mental grasp, of sturdy, inflexible integrity, of indomitable courage and of energetic patriotism is the one whom the country needs to-day to carry on the war of the Government for the people. Such a man is Philander C. Knox.

EDWIN S. STUART.

ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE.

FOR some time past all the States have been moving forward along parallel lines. The rates of progress have varied, but the general direction has been the same. The irresistible tendency is everywhere toward a larger control by the people over their own Government, and also over those private corporations which, through Government-granted monopoly, exercise a quasi-Governmental power.

The work of Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin is important because Wisconsin has achieved a more perfect control of her own government than any other State in the Union. If the present tendency continues, every other State in the Union will some day reach the point of political development attained by Wisconsin. It might almost be said that, when we look at the Wisconsin

of to-day, we see what many other States will be ten years from now. It might almost be said that The Present of Wisconsin is The Future of America. If we want to know what other States and what the United States will be in their political organization in the coming era, we can find the fulfilled prophecy ready to our hand in the present political organization of the State of Wisconsin.

It is interesting, therefore, to consider the career of the man to whom, more than to any other one man, we must grant the credit of having given his State its position in the forefront of the modern democratic movement in America. The movement is the same in Washington, D. C., as it is in Madison, Dane County, Wisconsin. The personal qualities and the public policies needed are in each case the same. What Senator La Follette has done on a State scale can be, and will be, done on a national scale. The only difference is geographical area.

Let us see what has been done in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin can justly claim to be more nearly a representative democracy than any other American State. This is not because the people are more democratic than the people of other States, but because they have had a leader. They have not suddenly gained their position by an excited uprising, but have rallied around a determined leader through a fourteen-year struggle. Each step has been a fight; each move in advance has been an organized attack; defeats have been recouped by greater victories. This would have been impossible without tireless, resourceful and far-sighted leadership. It is not enough that the masses of the people have a longing for the equal justice of democracy—they cannot get it unless they support a leader who knows how to get it, who makes no compromise on essential points, and who can be trusted to sacrifice personal advantage. It seems to me that the greatest thing in the life of La Follette was his abdication at the height of his power in favor of the direct primaries. No man in American politics had ever shown himself a greater master of the party convention system. He had organized the State thoroughly, had elected his delegates, nominated his tickets, written the platforms, dominated the party. Then he abolished the entire system by which he had risen. There are no longer any political nominating conventions in Wisconsin. From the highest to the lowest office, from Senator, Representative and

Governor to supervisor and alderman, every voter casts his nominating ballot in secret without intervention of party delegates or bosses. And the remarkable spectacle was witnessed of La Follette, the master of the convention system, going before the voters at the primaries, and pleading for his candidate for Governor the same as any other speaker. This was surely supreme proof of his democracy and willingness to trust the people—none the less so that his candidate was defeated.

Much the same is true of the civil service. I have occasionally heard statements that office-holders appointed by La Follette or by his appointees were political workers, and did not give all of their time to the work of the State. I can see how this could be so, while he was fighting without funds against the enormous entrenched power of corporations in politics. But as soon as he was on the eve of complete victory, after ten years of defeat and doubt, he did what no Governor or President has ever done in advocating a civil-service law. Instead of "blanketing in" all of his own appointees, as others have done, he insisted that the new law, enacted solely on his initiative, should require all existing employees to pass an examination within six months to ascertain their fitness to continue in their positions. The examinations were held, some of his appointees failed to pass and were dropped; their places were filled by others who passed the examination. Surely this is proof, both of La Follette's faith in the fitness of his appointees, and of his conviction that democratic government must have efficient public servants. Wisconsin now has a civil-service law combining the best features of the laws of older States and countries, and opening the door of public service to the highest ability and fitness the State can offer. As indicating public confidence in the law, a recent examination for a single position as factory inspector was taken by nearly three hundred applicants.

Indeed, La Follette's strongest claim to the State's gratitude is the character and ability of the men whom his leadership has brought into public life. His methods of campaigning have had a purifying effect. Most notable has been his practice of reading a candidate's record to his constituency. These were the candidates of his own party who had violated their pledges, as given in the party platform, to vote for railway regulation or tax equalization.

Only the most strongly intrenched men of the party could survive this attack. The result of this and of the direct primaries is a State Legislature superior in intelligence, independence and character to any other American Legislature. Each man does his own thinking, and there are scarcely a half-dozen who take orders from anybody. It is a truly *deliberative* and representative body, and I have heard it stated by an experienced lobbyist from another State that this is the only Legislature that takes up economic questions on their merits, without reference to personal or party advantage. That this is true may be judged from the wonderful growth of the Legislative Reference Department, which is a staff of twenty to fifty people who collect and classify facts on all branches of legislation and aid the Governor and legislators in drafting their bills. Lawmaking in Wisconsin has become scientific, because La Follette has brought a new kind of lawmakers into public life. Ten years ago an election of United States Senator is said to have been a kind of orgie, with "barrels" of champagne and "dough." At the last election the candidates and their agents would not even "set up" the cigars.

Even more remarkable than the legislators are the officials and members of commissions whom La Follette has appointed. He has appreciated the importance of adequate salaries in order to get able men, and has secured legislation providing for the payment of such salaries. At the last session of the Legislature, I heard the leading attorney of the railroad lobby declare at a public hearing that the railroad commission appointed by La Follette stood much higher in ability and knowledge of their subject than the Interstate Commerce Commission. This lawyer had led the fight against creating the commission.

The remarkable change of front on the part of corporations and opponents of La Follette testifies to the justice of his demands. We hear it said, "Why, this is just exactly the kind of legislation we have always been in favor of, but we objected to the methods he used in getting it." It is true that his methods were ruthless. He had been so often deceived by delegates, legislators and officials who went over to the corporations' side after having received his support, that he had learned never to hesitate about sacrificing a man whom he could not trust to support his measures. But, with the measures once adopted, their absolute justice to all interests shines forth. The key to the whole

situation has been the railway corporations and their lobbies and campaign contributions. La Follette's attack on them and on those whom they controlled was uncompromising. Perhaps the spectacular climax occurred when he denounced the lobby of manufacturers and shippers who came to Madison and adopted resolutions against the rate-regulation bill. He charged them with receiving or expecting rebates, or with being the unwilling agents of railroad coercion. They knew that he was able to show the amount of their rebates through evidence collected in the State investigation of railway books under a La Follette law for the collection of back taxes. Their opposition collapsed; and, later, after the railway commission law was enacted, many of these manufacturers and shippers were foremost in seeking and getting the benefits of the rate regulation they had opposed.

The fundamental fact in La Follette's rate regulation, and the one most severely attacked, was the provision for ascertaining the cost of construction of all the roads—known as "physical valuation." But it turns out that this is the foundation of absolute justice, both to shippers and railroads, in rate regulation. Knowing the physical value, the commission and the public know exactly how much is allowed for other items of value, such as goodwill, compensation for risk, etc. The whole question is raised above the level of guesswork, and for the first time the regulation of public service corporations becomes scientific. And only scientific regulation can be just regulation. The demonstration of this fact in the Wisconsin legislation places Senator La Follette in an impregnable position when he takes the lead in demanding of Congress physical valuation of all interstate roads. When in the session of 1907 the Wisconsin Legislature extended regulation to all street-car, water, light, heat and power undertakings, physical valuation was accepted without question as the starting-point.

La Follette's foresight in taking a long look ahead and anticipating possible future abuses is seen in his treatment of water-power franchises. Many of these franchises were granted by recent Legislatures, but in all of them La Follette insisted that one of the terms should be arbitration of rates and services. The public-utility law of 1907 carries out the provision by placing the companies under the jurisdiction of the railroad commission.

Space does not permit an account of other issues and La Fol-

lette's attitude toward them, such as his advocating employers' liability laws, reasonable hours for railway employees, wage-exemption laws, anti-pass and anti-lobby laws, the recall, the initiative and referendum. These are a part of the one great movement of restoring government to the people and establishing equal opportunity for all.

A great political leader, in the struggle now on to redeem representative government, is one who profoundly understands the economic and political principles involved, and is endowed with the power to point the way out. He must understand that organized control of transportation and industry and finance in the end means absolute industrial and commercial servitude for the citizen, and that, in the end, means political servitude. He must understand that there can be no "good" combinations for the creation of monopoly, to be legalized by undermining the Sherman Anti-Trust Law with misleading amendments. He must believe, with all the fervor of our fathers, in equal opportunity for man, weak or strong, and for capital, big or little. He must have determination and aggressiveness, and the resourcefulness that comes from a long campaign in fighting for what the awakened intelligence of the people demands. He must refuse compromise. There is no middle ground. He must have the sense of justice that is not moved by the spirit of retaliation. He must have confidence in democratic institutions and willingness to subordinate himself to those institutions. La Follette is that kind of a leader.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

THE distinctive features of the career of Mr. Taft have been rapid promotion, identification with an unusual share of the most important events of his time and the absence of those periods of quiet and comparatively unimportant growth which mark so many life stories. He has been continuously engaged in weighty tasks; each successive service has been characterized by an increasing influence upon most vital questions. Very seldom does a man at the age of fifty years have a record of such a dominating part in the solution of so many important national policies.

He was born at Cincinnati September 15, 1857. His parentage was of the best old New England stock, the Taft family being

descendants of Robert Taft, who settled at Mendon, Massachusetts, in 1679, and numbering many prominent men. His father, Judge Alphonso Taft, a leading lawyer and local judge at Cincinnati, was Secretary of War under Grant, Attorney-General under Arthur and, later, Minister both to Austria and to Russia. His mother was Miss Louise M. Torrey, of Millbury, Massachusetts. He has three living brothers, each of whom, like himself, is a loyal graduate of Yale College.

In his boyhood days he attended the schools of his home city of Cincinnati, and was the leader among the boys of the suburb of Mount Auburn. He prepared for college at Woodward High School, Cincinnati. He displayed from the first the remarkable physical strength and earnestness which have ever since distinguished him. He also manifested that hearty love for outdoor recreation which has been a saving quality in his intensely active and taxing life. He entered Yale College in 1874 and graduated in 1878 at the age of twenty. He disappointed his schoolmates by declining to employ his tremendous physique on the athletic field; but his wholesome fondness for sport and companionship led him to mingle frequently in college pastimes. His popularity did not suffer because of his absence from football, while the excellent work which his phenomenal energy enabled him to perform in the studies of the college curriculum assured for him substantial admiration. He graduated second in scholarship in a class of 129, and was salutatorian and class orator. The extraordinary esteem of his classmates is attested by the striking circumstance that, as far back as the Minneapolis Republican Convention in 1892, there was a movement among them to have his name presented for the Republican Presidential nomination.

On his return to Cincinnati, he at once entered the Law School, and was graduated with honors and admitted to the bar in 1880.

There can be no more noteworthy proof of his ability than the early recognition which he received after his admission to the bar; and, indeed, it is remarkable that from that time to this he has, in most instances, been promoted to higher and more responsible positions before the completion of the term of each succeeding office. In less than a year, he became Assistant Prosecutor of Hamilton County, and made a vigorous and effectual fight to cleanse Cincinnati of criminals. In the follow-

ing year of 1882, he was selected by President Arthur for the important office of Collector of Internal Revenue at Cincinnati. Here he instituted important administrative reforms, and obtained his first experience in executive management; but, tiring of this position, he returned to the practice of law in one year. Less than two years later, he was appointed Assistant County Solicitor for Hamilton County, continuing, however, to some extent, the general practice of law, and taking an important part in local politics with an eye to civic reforms. The path that Roosevelt was following in New York Taft was paralleling in Cincinnati.

In March, 1887, when less than thirty years old, he was appointed by Governor Foraker Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, a bench which has been noted for the high standard of its judges; and in the following year he was elected to succeed himself for a term of five years. He was not allowed, however, to complete this term; for in February, 1890, he was appointed Solicitor-General of the United States by President Harrison. While Solicitor-General he prepared and presented to the Supreme Court of the United States some exceptionally important cases, such as the Behring Sea case, in which the Government of Great Britain appeared as a suitor before our Supreme Court; and the lawsuit involving the validity of the McKinley Tariff Law. He also argued the very important question of the validity of Speaker Reed's action in counting a quorum during the Fifty-first Congress. In each of these cases he was successful. While still acting in this position, in March, 1892, he was appointed, by President Harrison, United States Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit, including Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan, and in the following year he became the ranking member. He was associated with Judges Day and Lurton, the former now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was said of these three that "they made that Court the greatest subordinate Court of the United States, according to the high respect paid it by the whole legal profession."

Judge Taft's work on the bench calls for especial comment, not only on account of his singular fairness and ability, but also on account of the significance which many of his decisions have since assumed. He delivered opinions establishing the principle that, under the Interstate Commerce Statutes, mandatory in-

junctions will lie directing railway officers and employees to preserve the *status quo* until cases can be brought up for deliberate hearing. This decision he based on the contention that the condition of a railroad is not one of rest, but of action; that the constant operation of train service may be likened to a river of which the current must be allowed to flow without interruption. He decided here, as well as upon the bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, that the so-called secondary boycott was illegal, viz., the boycott of an employer or dealer because he patronizes another against whom the immediate or primary boycott is declared. It was, however, held by Judge Taft in the railway cases that striking employees might cease work immediately where their grievance against the company of their employment was a direct one, and his reasoning in this case was made the basis for a decision in a later case in which his exact words in favor of the right of railway employees to strike were quoted.

It was his distinction also to render the first important decision under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. This was in the case of the Addyston Pipe and Steel Company, which, with other manufacturers of certain products, had divided the country into sections in which each of the concerns involved in the agreement was to have the exclusive right to sell. Judge Taft, in an opinion, pointed out the distinction between legitimate incidental contracts in restraint of trade and those deliberately designed to restrict competition and enhance prices. The latter were held to be violations of the Anti-Trust Act when relating to interstate commerce. The United States Supreme Court sustained this decision.

In March, 1900, a marked line of cleavage in the life of Mr. Taft came with his appointment by President McKinley to the Presidency of the Philippine Commission. From this point he ceases to be Taft the Judge, weighing the formal arguments of counsel, and appears as Taft the energetic and resourceful executive. The difficulty of the problem presented by the Philippine Islands has seldom been brought fully to the attention of the country. None of the precedents of the Spanish administration of tyranny and selfishness offered any suggestion toward its solution. The natives were still in a pitifully distrustful state of fear and insurrection. The commerce of the archipelago was

dead, and the most valuable lands were in the hands of the Spanish Friars. His first move was to assure the Filipinos of our good-will and friendly intent, and to call upon them for suggestion and co-operation in restoring prosperity. He made the promise that he would remain among them until order had been thoroughly established and some measure of self-government could be granted. Yet, along with these statements, the formal announcement was made that independence was not to be expected and that the measure of liberty conferred by the United States would be proportionate to deserts only. He set at work to destroy the *régime* of turbulence and brigandage. A measure of municipal autonomy was granted. The construction of highways was commenced. Agricultural experts were brought from the United States to teach improved methods of cultivation. A health department was organized to check the frequently recurring epidemics. A thousand American teachers came. Universal amnesty was granted on the establishment of civil power July 4th, 1901. The purchase of lands from the Friars was effected and they were resold at cost to the natives. A judicial system was supported by an insular police and a native constabulary. Finally the finances were placed upon a sound foundation.

Mr. Taft's personality and attitude, however, were the most effective factors in conciliation. He mingled with the people and gave open hearings to the stories of their wrongs. His policy was called by a Spanish editor in Manila "a policy of attraction." He sought to prove the disinterested integrity and official good intent of America. The most careful supervision was exercised over officials from the United States. No spoils were to be permitted in America's colonies. It would be impossible to find among those who have gone forth to a foreign country an administrator whose record for justice and consideration of the natives was nobler, or whose achievements were more notable than those of Mr. Taft in the Philippines. As a result he is honored and beloved by the varied millions of the islands.

It is not without reason that President McKinley remarked that for the charge of the Philippine Islands a man was required fitted both to be President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. After this expression of opinion, Judge Day, who was his companion, responded, "That means Judge Taft," and McKinley expressed his hearty acquiescence in the suggestion.

At the end of 1902, he was twice tendered the position of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. This honor he refused with a request that he be allowed to complete the work on which he had entered. Nor did he relinquish his position in the Philippines until a revolution had been wrought in conditions on the islands. Thus it was with the consciousness of duty done that he was able to accept a position in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt as Secretary of War, the duties of which he undertook on the 1st of February, 1904.

His entrance upon this position marks still another epoch in his career. The department of which he has been the head has especially to do with all our outlying possessions, and with the very delicate relations of the United States with Cuba. In all these the War Secretary has exercised a controlling influence, and has, by his diplomacy and his grasp of the needs and desires of these islanders, won eminent success. He was twice in Cuba after the insurrection; he brought the warring elements together in April, 1907, and outlined a solution for the resumption of self-government which was accepted by all the Cubans. While showing ability as a diplomat, he is especially accomplished as a pacifier. He listens to the advocates of all interests, and, by repressing unreasonable or absurd demands, points out a path to settlement which, by reason of his powerful personality and the confidence in his fairness, all interests accept.

He has also been in control of the world's greatest public work, the Panama Canal. He has exercised a guiding influence on the form and methods of construction, and has given such impetus to the work that final completion is no longer regarded as in the remote future.

Of the multiplicity and importance of the tasks now daily devolving upon him little need be said. It must be borne in mind that he is not only Secretary of War, but, in effect, Colonial Secretary and, in an important sense, Director of the Public Works of the Government. He has been termed "the busiest man in a busy Government." The attention which he is devoting to the pressing needs of the country, however, promises to be productive of happy solutions of many troublesome difficulties.

Among Mr. Taft's especial qualifications for the Presidency may be mentioned his varied experience, which has given him a specific knowledge of the different branches of our Government

and a broad, general training for the conduct of affairs. He also has the rare union of a judicial temperament with a remarkable gift for administrative management. He possesses a keen faculty for eliminating the non-essentials from a complicated problem and coming directly to its substance. While he has a fondness for details, yet details can never divert him from the main question to be decided. His capacity for work is something enormous. Quite as helpful, however, is the equable temperament of the man, which will not allow the annoyances of life to distract or hamper him. Those who meet him almost forget the big things he has done, so wholly are they occupied by his affable and friendly personality and his kindly humor. Occupants of high station are all in the long run judged as men; and under this standard Secretary Taft is now, and will ever be, known for his broad sympathies with every grade of humanity, and as one intensely imbued with the democratic spirit which should characterize a free American. No one can hesitate for a moment to recognize his severity in dealing with wrong-doing; but he has a more attractive side in his charm of manner. In fine, Taft the man, independent of official position, would have a commanding influence in public life, because he has those qualities which inspire the confidence and affection of the people.

He would bring to the Presidency a practical experience surpassed by that of no one of his predecessors. In the external relations of the country his comprehension of both national and international subjects would furnish certainty of amity and of sustained prestige. To the problems of greater America, of our dependent colonies and less advanced allies, his whole-souled humanity and familiar association with the outlying tribes of the earth would guarantee kindly and understanding attention. At home, in dealing with the grave social and civil questions now pressing upon the body politic, his administration would be equally marked by conservatism and progressiveness. No honest enterprise need fear him. No dishonest scheme could hope to hide its face from the light or to escape punishment. The people would have an assured hope for the secure development and progress of the country, and would rest safe in the reliance that a Chief Executive was at the helm who, in peace or in war, would guide the destinies of the nation with a strong hand and with a gentle heart.

THEODORE E. BURTON.